Miles D. Williams

Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign David Kinley Hall · 1470 W Gregory Drive · Urbana IL, 61801

☑ milesdw2@illinois.edu ┗ 618-663-9499 ☻ milesdwilliams15.github.io

My research falls under one of three umbrellas: (1) the political economy of foreign aid; (2) political methodology; and (3) public policy. With respec to the first, I have special interest both in identifying the foreign policy goals countries pursue through their aid allocation, and in explaining the strategic responses among leading foreign aid donors to each other as they allocate aid to developing countries. To address these issues, I rely on various tools, from game theory, to machine learning as well as classical econometric techniques.

The second centers on novel applications of machine learning in observational data, text-as-data techniques, and extensions of existing approaches for testing theoretical models. Some of this research intersects with the politics of foreign aid but also extends to other contexts of interest to political scientists such as religion in politics and political communication.

The last research agenda comes out of work I have done as an Associate Fellow with the U.S. Office of Evaluation Sciences. In collaboration with cross-disciplinary teams of scholars, I have contributed to public policy research on issues ranging from vaccine uptake to small business survival in the wake of COVID-19.

The Political Economy of Aid

IDENTIFYING DONOR INTERESTS

My aid research follows two related themes. The first centers on identifying the foreign policy goals that motivate aid giving by donor governments. The second centers on how donor interests shape their strategic responses to the aid allocated by others. The former research deals with an enduring puzzle in international politics: why do the governments of industrialized countries give economic assistance to developing countries? Political scientists and economists have sought answers to this question for decades, giving birth to a mammoth corpus of research that is as diverse as it is large.

My own research contributes to this literature in a number of ways. In one solo authored study, for which I have a revise and resubmit at *International Studies Quarterly*, I examine how donors differently respond to ongoing conflicts with foreign aid given the social, economic, and strategic importance they place on aid recipients. I find that recipients that are important to donors receive disproportionately more aid when they experience civil war than similarly important countries at peace. Conversely, unimportant civil war states receive disproportionately less aid. These findings have normative significance for two reasons. First, they highlight that countries experiencing civil war may receive inequitable support from donor governments on the basis of the social, economic, and strategic interests of the latter. Second, given recent findings that donors' nondevelopment goals may hinder recipient development, the pattern in donor responses to civil war suggest that donors distribute aid in ways that hurt the very recipients they deem most important.

In another ongoing project, I in collaboration with Lucie Lu, a fellow graduate student, study the link between Chinese foreign aid and Chinese media coverage of its aid recipient countries in *Xinhua* (China's state-run news agency). We leverage *AidData*'s dataset on China's bilateral ODA-like financing, which we merge with metadata on *Xinhua* articles that mention recipient countries that we obtained from the Cline Center's Archer web portal. This is a new application developed by the Cline Center at the University of Illinois to facilitate access to its

Global News Index. With this data, we seek an answer to the question: is China's aid policy responsive to media coverage of developing countries, or is its media coverage responsive to China's aid policy? While the role of media coverage in shaping the aid policies of prominent democratic donor governments has been considered by other scholars, our study adds to this literature by considering the role of media in an authoritarian context. A key finding in our analysis is that Chinese media coverage is responsive to where China targets its aid (rather than the reverse), and that this relationship is negative. That is, Xinhua is less likely to have coverage of developing countries that receive Chinese aid.

STRATEGIC DONOR GOVERNMENT RESPONSES

The second theme in my aid research centers on donor government interactions. This issue forms the core of my dissertation. I start with the assumption that leading industrialized countries target economic assistance to developing countries in order to maximize wide-ranging foreign policy interests. But, as they do so, the aid allocated by one produces a mix of positive and negative foreign policy externalities for all others, and vice versa. In addressing this issue, I make contributions to theory, measurement, and empirics.

I first develop and analyze a two-donor, two-recipient game theoretic model. I deduce best-responses among aid donors, and the welfare implications of these best-responses. My key finding is that the most likely outcome in equilibrium is inefficient competitive waste. Donors direct more of their aid budgets to recipients where rivalry is most pronounced, and away from recipients where they share more common interests. If they could agree to cooperate, a more efficient solution would entail mutually diverting some aid away from recipients that are sites of rival foreign policy gains, and to recipients that are sites of mutual interest. However, a number of factors may complicate donor cooperation. The key normative contribution of the model is that it demonstrates the existence of many situations in which donors do not mutually benefit from cooperating. This may portend problems in interactions between traditional donors and China, and even among democratic donors and allies like the United States and the United Kingdom.

The remainder of my dissertation is dedicated to identifying when and where donor governments compete for rival foreign policy interests or else defer (or pass the buck) to others. In doing so, I make a novel contribution to measurement by developing two composite measures. The first captures the strength of leading countries' foreign policy interests with respect to individual developing countries. The second captures individual developing countries' relative need for economic assistance. With these measures in hand, I then use a mix of machine learning and conventional econometric techniques to recover evidence, not only that leading donor countries engage in heterogeneous strategic responses to one another given the strength of their interests and recipient needs, but also to identify the conditions under which donor responses are driven by rivalry or incentives to pass the buck. With respect to the latter, I find that donor responsiveness to one another is most prevalent among the recipient countries with greatest need for aid. Further, among these recipients, donors respond competitively to peer aid when and where its foreign policy interests are strongest, and deferentially to peer aid when and where its interests are minimal. These findings shed new light on strategic responses among aid donors by revealing not only that donors strategically target their aid based on the giving of others, but also by identifying when and where these responses are competitive or deferential.

Outside of my dissertation, my interest in donor interactions extends to the politics of multilateral development institutions. On this front, I recently coauthored a chapter on the history and issues related to the World Bank with Matthew Winters for the *Handbook of International Organizations: Theories, Concepts and Empirical Insights.* In an additional ongoing project I explore theoretically and empirically the tension besetting institutions like the World Bank to bend to the interests of its most influential donors versus targeting its loan and grant allocations to the most deserving recipients.

METHODOLOGY

Themes

Ongoing and Future Work

In a pair of papers coauthored with Ryan Burge at Eastern Illinois University, I use text-as-data methods to understand political communication in the domain of religion. In an article published in the *Journal of Communication and Religion*, we applied a combination of natural language processing, descriptive analysis, and sentiment analysis to shed new light on the differential political communications of clergy in their sermons on the basis of gender. In another article published in the *Journal of Religion, Media, and Digital Culture*, we explored a novel dataset of Tweets made by more than 80 prominent Protestant Evangelical leaders with an eye to the most common themes in their communications, and to their messaging on political issues.

Methodologically, I maintain a research agenda centered on developing new methods for identifying causal estimates with observational data. In one ongoing project, I propose a novel application of random forests to the problem of regression adjustment. In addition to developing an R package for implementing this approach to regression adjustment, I detail the method in a manuscript that I will place under review this semester. In another project, I build upon an existing model-based approach to estimating a "strategic autoregressive model" (StratAM) and currently have a related R package under development for implementing the method.

PUBLIC POLICY

Themes

Ongoing and Future Work

In addition to relying on a combination of formal modeling, machine learning, and model-based approaches to inference in my research, professionally I have honed my expertise in design-based inference and quasi-experimental designs in my time serving as an Associate Fellow on the Methods Team at the U.S. Office of Evaluation Sciences (OES). OES is a federal agency that relies on a team of interdisciplinary experts to help other federal agencies build and use evidence. In my role on the Methods Team, I consult on the development of research designs, support quality control for OES projects by conducting blind reanalyses for evaluations conducted by other team members, and contribute to the development of guidance documents and data visualization tools for OES. I have supported rapid evaluation of pandemic relief for small businesses, taking the lead in obtaining, cleaning, and merging millions of rows of credit card transaction data from a leading vendor with administrative data on small businesses that applied for pandemic assistance from major cities. I additionally contributed to descriptive analyses and data visualizations used to present results to stakeholders in cities and in the Small Business Administration.